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invaded—has been completely and nobly answered by President Taft and others, and has met with almost no public sympathy except from those who for other reasons oppose the ratification of the treaties, and the people are not likely to be persuaded by Mr. Roosevelt's vehement rhetoric to believe that President Taft, Secretary Knox, and their advisers, in their effort to extend the reign of law and lift civilization to a higher plane, have merely been "fooling" or enacting a mad-house drama. The people mean to be delivered from the horrors, the cruel injustices, and the consuming waste of war, and they will follow the man who leads them as far as possible away from the brutal paths of savagery. They know instinctively that "righteousness" lies along this path, and not where bullets and bayonets and rapid-fire guns deal out death and destruction.

Technically speaking, the treaties are possibly justly open to the criticism of Ex-Secretary of State Olney and a few others, that the provision for commissions of inquiry, in cases where questions may not be considered justiciable, really renders them limited, and that, therefore, they show little advance on the treaties negotiated by Secretary Root three years ago. This provision certainly would make it possible for either government to declare any serious question whatever unarbitrable, if it were disposed to do so. We confess that we should have been better pleased if the whole section on commissions of inquiry had been omitted and the two governments had pledged themselves without reservation to refer to the Hague Court all disputes that might hereafter arise between them. But the treaties seem to us to mark a much longer step in advance than this criticism allows. They do not reserve from arbitration any kind of controversy, as all former treaties have done. They contemplate regular reference to arbitration of controversies of every kind. That is a great gain. In the commissions of inquiry they have merely provided for the very remote contingency where one of the signatory governments might find some question confronting it so deeply and intimately affecting its national life as to make it unwilling, without unusually thorough study of the situation, to consent to its reference to the court of arbitration. If such a contingency was to be provided for at all, we do not see how it could have been better done than in the way which the treaties prescribe. Both parties are given an equal voice in the decision of the commission, and the fear that either of them would ever be overridden or led by bribe or otherwise to betray its country is, in the case of these highly civilized nations, so remote a possibility as to deserve to be dismissed as utterly frivolous. Mr. Roosevelt's fear that the commission of inquiry might be composed wholly of foreigners, and thus the nation's interest sacrificed, is a very curious objection. If our own country chose to put foreigners on the commission, it would only be on condition that the other party to the treaty named foreigners also, and we should thus have a body of entirely disinterested commissioners who would be even more able to decide whether the controversy were arbitrable under the present principles of international law than any mixed commission of nationals of the two countries could ever do.

The ex-President's argument, if it is worth anything, is really directly against his own position.

The objection of Senators, that their prerogatives and duties as part of the treaty-making power would be sacrificed by the treaty in its unamended form, was considered in our last issue, and has been ably and exhaustively answered by President Taft, notably in his address at Hartford on September 7. The President has since confessed his willingness to see put into the treaty a provision that the members of the commission of inquiry be appointed "with the advice and consent of the Senate," as we had supposed would be done, of course. We hope that in this way a method has been found by which the Senate and the President may come to an agreement, and that soon after Congress meets in December we may see the treaties ratified and proclaimed to the world.

### Postponement of the Peace Congress.

A cablegram was received at the office of the American Peace Society on September 13th from the Peace Bureau at Berne, saying that the Peace Congress, which was to have opened at Rome on the 25th ult., had been postponed. This news was not unexpected, for the various reports received at the health department in Washington had indicated that the cholera conditions in Italy were much worse than the Italian authorities had been willing openly to admit. The local Committee at Rome, who had put so much hard work into the preparations for the Congress, hesitated to the very last to consent to postponement, and only yielded when the knowledge of the widespread prevalence of the cholera epidemic became so general as to threaten to wreck the Congress if the attempt were made to hold it.

It is unfortunate, from one point of view, that the postponement was not agreed upon earlier. Most of the American delegates were either in Europe or already on the way, and will be greatly disappointed—some of them, at any rate—at the situation in which they find themselves. The same will be true also of the delegates to the Interparliamentary Conference which was to have followed the Peace Congress and which has been postponed for the same reason. But the local Committee have probably done the best they could under the difficult circumstances. The Congress promised to be one of the largest and most important ever held. The number of those enrolling themselves in advance as members was exceptionally large, and the committee, having spent so much time and money in elaborate preparations, were extremely loath to give the meeting up. Count Gubernatis, chairman of the committee, and his associates in Rome have our warmest sympathies in the trying circumstances in which they have found themselves, and we do not feel inclined in the least to censure them.

The postponement of the Congress seems in our judgment to have been on the whole most wise. The friends of peace are not immune to the cholera microbe, and, rather than run the risk of leaving their bones even in the Eternal City, numbers of them had already decided to remain away. Though the Congress at the present juncture of affairs would have afforded an unusual opportunity for a great demonstration in behalf of better understanding and closer friendship among the nations and of remonstrance against the growing insanity of great armaments and of the advancement of the movement for general treaties of unlimited arbitration, yet the peace cause in general will probably suffer no real loss through the failure of the Congress to meet this year.

We know as yet nothing as to the date at which the Congress will be held. There has been talk of having it meet at Rome in the early spring, but that would be a difficult time of the year to get the peace workers away from their home fields of labor, and we doubt the wisdom of attempting to hold it at that time. The Berne Peace Bureau will, of course, take the judgment of the peace organizations in different countries before making a decision. As for ourselves we see no reason to attempt to hold the Congress until the usual time next year. By that time the cholera will almost certainly have run its course, and our friends in Rome ought to have the Congress, on which they have already bestowed so much labor, if the conditions in Italy shall prove favorable next year.

### Editorial Notes.

#### International Peace Bureau.

The 20th annual report of the International Peace Bureau at Berne was issued last month, and would have been presented to the annual meeting of the Bureau at Rome, if the Peace Congress had not been postponed. The Bureau has during the year carried on its usual operations, executing the resolutions of the Stockholm Peace Congress, publishing the *Correspondance Bimensuelle*, and serving in general as an intermediary among the peace societies of the world. A circular letter was sent by the Bureau to the foreign offices of all the principal governments urging early and serious attention to the problem of armaments and a favorable reply to the invitation of the United States Government to create special commissions to study the subject. The secretary reports that the replies to this letter have not been numerous. In view of the reception of the Nobel Peace Prize last December, and the assurance of the reception hereafter of a regular contribution from the Carnegie Peace Endowment, the thorough reorganiza-

tion of the Bureau so as to enlarge its scope and make it more efficient is now being planned. A new edition of the *Annuaire* prepared by the Bureau and a catalogue of its library will be shortly published, and also a complete list of all the arbitration treaties concluded since the first Hague Conference. The total receipts of the Bureau for the year, exclusive of the Nobel Prize, have been 13,775.89 francs, and the total expenses 11,425.72 francs. The Propaganda Fund created four or five years ago, and placed in the hands of the Bureau for administration, has not grown much, and now totals only 14,098.83 francs. The Bureau, as authorized by the Stockholm Peace Congress, is endeavoring to work out a plan for the federation of the peace societies of the world. Some progress has been made, but the realization of the idea seems yet some way off.

#### A Quaker Plea for the Treaties.

The Society of Friends of eastern Massachusetts, through the action of their Quarterly Meeting held at Salem, August 17, have urged upon Senators Henry Cabot Lodge and Winthrop Murray Crane the ratification of the Taft arbitration treaties, for the following reasons:

1. Because they contemplate just judicial settlements of international questions in conformity to law and right reason, by impartial jurists. This method is vindicated by every page of modern history—the use of courts between States and men. No respectable man in this age submits his cause to trial by arms and physical violence. The same good reason, and desire for justice only, applies more strongly to dignified and exalted Christian States. Think carefully of the magnificent triumphs of the Supreme Court of the United States in the conflicts of States of this Union.

2. The interests of the United States have been guarded and protected in these treaties by some of the ablest and wisest jurists of the country, and their provisions are exceedingly satisfactory to a great multitude of citizens who love their country and desire its prosperity and most advanced progress.

3. There is always a risk and venture in every human scheme—an opportunity for experience and growth; but other great nations are willing to avoid the perils of war by taking this venture. Their approval of the treaties is a vigorous testimony to their strength and justice.

4. This is one of the most remarkable opportunities to lift the burden of war from States—from the shoulders of God's poor, to serve the race—which has appeared in human affairs. No man or State can afford to be on the wrong side of this issue. The Senate may turn it down, but it will rise again. These treaties are in the process of the suns and manifest destiny, and men must clear the way for them. They are among the most advanced and honorable steps in our civilization and progress, and we hereby express the confident hope that you will do all in your power to give the entire original treaties the sanction of your approval and great influence.